

LONDON·MEDIC
FO·AL·TIO·S

A

81

DISSERTATION

ON THE
State of *PHYSICIANS*

Among the

OLD ROMANS,

In which it is proved to have been

SERVILE and IGNOBLE:.

Against the *ASSERTIONS* of the celebrated

Dr. JAMES SPON, and Dr. RICHARD MEAD.

Translated from the *LATIN* of

Dr. *CONYERS MIDDLETON*,

Chief Librarian to the University of Cambridge.

L O N D O N :

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What if a Law should first be given - pronounced

THE. - he they had their freedom

INTRODUCTION.



NOT long since, some Friends met at my Library to pass the Evening there, according to Custom, as well in familiar as learned Discourses; And as CAMBRIDGE is a Place that readily supplies Numbers of learned Men, there were then present some of almost every Science. When each of us had communicated whatever News we heard, either in the learned or great World, a PHYSICIAN, who belonged to King's College, being in Company, a Gentleman to be rank'd among the first for Worth and Learning, was asked somewhat concerning the Small-Pox, which was, at that time, very outrageous among us; from thence arose a Dispute about the various Methods of curing it, which by Degrees drew us to talk of Medicine, and our Discourse was wholly employed in the Merit and Honour of

the Art, especially in the Fame and Renown of the COLLEGE at LONDON.

THEN, says I, how different an Appearance does Physick make with us, to what it did anciently at Rome, where that Art lay obscure and despised for so many Ages; never practised by any but Slaves, and Men of the lowest Rank, and which no Roman vouchsafed to profess, as being illiberal and altogether unworthy a Citizen? But at this our Physician laughed, and said, For his part, he did not believe that those obsolete and exploded Falsities of some People could, at this time of Day, gain Credit with any Body, which, being so often refuted, have a long time been rejected by most learned Men, as vain and idle; And which Dr. MEAD himself, that Prince of Physicians, in an Oration spoken not long since at LONDON, proved to be mere Slander, and turned all the Infamy of Slavery from the PHYSICIANS intirely upon the SURGEONS.

BUT I, tho' shock'd by the Authority of Dr. MEAD, whose ORATION I had not as yet seen, lest I should be thought to blab things rashly, and without any Foundation, continued to say many things in Defence of my Opinion, and offer'd some Testimonies of the Ancients, which at that Time occurred to my Memory, promising many more from Books, in Confirmation of the Argument I maintained: Nor did I scruple

ple to say, that Dr. MEAD himself seems plainly mistaken in two places; first, that he thinks the Physicians anciently at ROME were Gentlemen and freeborn; and again, that the Surgeons were at all separated and distinguish'd from other PHYSICIANS; when 'tis very certain, that, among the old Romans, they both had one common Appellation, as well as Condition.

So that our Dispute lengthening by Degrees, and being carried on in a pretty familiar manner, as becomes friends, with many Words on both Sides. At last the King's PROFESSOR of CIVIL LAW, a Gentleman of consummate Modesty, and equal Learning, interfered, and openly declared himself of my Side, because he always observed the ancient Lawyers ranked the Physicians among the Slaves; ^a for whom nevertheless this Respect was had, that they were superior to other Slaves, and, in the Sale, were of greater Value than any of the rest. As to what concerned Surgeons, he did not believe that they were anciently distinguish'd from other Physicians; but, on the contrary, that they only were to be esteemed the Physicians, since he did not remember that any other Physicians were mention'd in the Ci-

^a Servis autem & Ancillis majoribus decem annis, si sine arte sint, viginti solidis æstimandis; sin autem Artifices, ad triginta solidos æstimatione eorum procedente. Notarios quinquaginta solidos æstimari, Medicos autem & Obstetrices sexaginta. l. 3. Cod. Commur. de legat. &c.

vil Law, ^b but those who used Manual Operation.

AT last our Friend BAKER, who us'd not only to be present at these our Assemblies, but even to preside, on Account of that Knowledge of Antiquity, in which he transcends all others; having added the Weight of his Opinion to mine, as a certain Advantage, then they all urged that I should undertake to treat more accurately and finish this whole Debate, now but slightly and accidentally begun; and that, at my first Leisure, I should reduce to Order, whatever I discoursed from my Memory, and whatever, besides, I promis'd from Books, and refer it to the Examination of some other of our Meetings. In obedience therefore to these Gentlemen, I immediately collected all those things which seemed pertinent to this Case, and which contain all that can be said upon it, and threw them into the Form of an entire Dissertation as follows.

Videmus in iure dato —

^b Si Medicus Servum imperitè fecuerit, vel ex locato, vel ex lege Aquiliâ competere Actionem. l. 7. § f. ad leg. Aquil.

Institutiones Iure —

Aquilian Law.
et Plentus —



Philippus e' Tura —

negiant —

— Jurisprud —

— Jurisprud —

Georgius —

Roberto —

Malacpe —

— Jurisprud —



A
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E may presume, by the Silence of all Monuments, that the Art of Physick was not only less cultivated in the Times of the old *Romans*, but even unknown; for whereas all other things, which relate to Life and civil Manners, are accurately described by Laws, and well constituted, yet in all the Regulations of the City, we find nothing was commanded or instituted either by Kings or Consuls in respect to Physick: Besides, for many Ages

-Gelfus-

| The Digest

6 The State of Physicians,

Ages after the Foundation of the City, there was no Tradition of the Fame, or Name of any Physician, or scarce indeed any Mention made of the Art itself, even among Writers. Nor is it strange, truly, that a thing which was seldom necessary, was so little talked of there, among Men bred up in the greatest Temperance and inured to most laborious Toils; to whose Health, as *Valerius Maximus*^a saith, *Frugality was as a certain Mother averse to Luxury and Feasts:—Quasi quaedam Mater erat Frugalitas, inimica luxuriosis Epulis.* The same Reason, to wit, Moderation in Life and Diet, preserv'd the City at once free from Physicians and Diseases, while the Poverty of the Citizens could not allure them with Rewards or any Hopes of Gain: And this their temperate Life, by taking away its Foundation, plainly cut off all Use of Physick. Many of the Nobility, notwithstanding, were known to institute, each in his own Family, a certain Method of preserving their Health, as *Cato Senior* boasts in *PLUTARCH*,^b to the Contempt of all Physicians, that he us'd to maintain his own Health, and that of his Family, by Garden Herbs, and Food of easy Concoction.

^c *PLINY* tells us the Republick flourish'd in this Condition, without Physicians, for six

^a Lib. 2. c. 5.

^b In Vita Cat.

^c Hist. Nat. l. 29. c. 9.

hundred Years; but he is not to be understood, as if he would assert that no body at all applied themselves to Physick, during so many Ages; since many Authors say, ^d there have been Physicians, at least such as they were, long before at *Rome*, and indeed he himself mentions one *ARCAGATHUS*, who practis'd it there: ^e So that he is thought to say only thus much, that the *Romans*, in those times, had no Physician, who was noted for the Excellency of his Art, or Fame of his Name; and that all the while, the Art it self lay obscure, held in no Honour or Credit, and practis'd only by Slaves and Men of lowest Life, who, it's very likely, were for the most Part, either taken in War, or bought for Money, or else Fugitives from Grecia, who then possess'd a great Part of *Italy*, and all *Sicily*; since it's evident, that the Physicians Slaves in Greece, by following their Masters, and ^f administring to the Sick along with them, have often learn'd and exercis'd the Art of Physick, and at length some of these getting their Liberty, either by deserving their Masters Favour, or paying for it, used for the most Part to hire Shops, in which they pub-

^d Peste Romæ circiter annum 301. grassante, Medicos ægris curandis non sufficere meminit Dion. Halicar---it, Plaut. Rud. 5.3.

G R. Quid tu, num Medicus quæso es?

LA. Immo edepol una litera plus sum, quam Medicus. G R. Tum tu Mendicus es.

^e Ibid.

^f Κατ' ἐπίταξιν τῶν ἀσπολῶν καὶ θεωρίαν καὶ κατ' ἐμπειρίαν καὶ τέχνην κλῶνται ὑπάρχειν τῶν ἰατρῶν. Plato l.1. 4. 834.

lickly

lickly followed their Business, and sold Instruments of their Profession. PLAUTUS calls these Shops *Medicinæ*,^g which he says, were frequented by Cabals and Meetings of Idlers, like the Barbers Shops. And it is manifest that Slaves often bought their Liberty, with the Money which they gathered by sparing their Board Wages, and defrauding their Bellies;^h but those who had any Art, could easily, with their Masters Consent, procure a Stock by their Industry, and some accidental Gains, sufficient to buy their Liberty, which SENECA seems to declare, happens peculiarly to Physicians, even while he ranks them among the meanest of Men;ⁱ where he insists, that Riches are, by no means, to be reckoned amongst the good Things, since we see those Kinds of Good happen to every the lowest Slave in the Art of Physick: — *In Arte mendendi humilimis quibusque.*

BUT afterwards when Greece and Asia were subdued, and made Provinces of the Empire, then all Things at Rome ran into Excess and Luxury; and the Grecian Arts, introduced into the City, corrupted their old Simplicity of Life and Manners; and then, first of all, the chief Men began to seek every

^g Amphit. 4. 1.

^h Plaut. Rud. 4. 2. It. Senec. Ep. 80.

ⁱ Senec. 85.

where, and procure themselves Quantities of *Greek* Slaves, bred up in Arts, but skill'd especially in Physick, to minister at once both to their Health and Luxury : nor after this was there any noble or rich Man's House, but was supplied with one or more *Slaves*, who were *Physicians*, among whom afterwards the Art, and whole Province of Physick was continued. And yet, tho' the Number of Physicians increased thus much every Day in the City, I seldom meet with any Accounts of Physick itself, or its Professors, among Authors, as if it were too abject and humble ; nor do I find that ever any Physician was made free, before JULIUS CÆSAR'S Time, excepting ARCADATHUS *only* : and I believe *one* ASCLEPIADES was the first about that Time who was famous for Skill in Physick ; this ASCLEPIADES was a Rhetorician at first, ^k who knew Nothing of Physick, but when he found Rhetorick less profitable, as he was a cunning Man, he applied himself to Physick, and gaining thereby great Fame and Authority, he was at length admitted ^l to the Friendship and Familiarity of CICERO.

YET such always was the Discredit of the whole Profession at *Rome*, that it *only* of all the Grecian Arts was deemed below the

^k Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 25. 2. it. 26. 3.

^l Cic. de Orat. l. 1. 14.

Dignity of a Roman, ^m tho' great Advantages might have been proposed from it. *And the few Romans* who were at length prevailed upon by Interest, tho' not till late Days, to apply to it, were held as *Renegades to the Grecians*. The Praise and Honour due to Virtue in War was chiefly esteemed by them, as it afforded the best Commendation to Glory; but those, who chose rather to follow the gentler Studies of the Senate or Forum, applied themselves, as CICERO tells us, ⁿ *Some to Philosophy, some to the Civil Law, and some to Eloquence:—Alii se ad Philosophicam, alii ad Jus Civile, alii ad Eloquentiam applicuerunt*. In these Arts every Gentleman employed himself, and by these only attained to Riches, Honour, and Fame; but, do we read that ever any *Roman* studied Physick, or any Citizen gained Glory or Applause by such Study? which, notwithstanding, CICERO himself allows to be *an honest Profession among that Sort of Men to whom it belongs*, to wit, Slaves and Freedmen. ^o Nor is it strange, that those Antients, who allowed not the Use of Liberal Arts to Slaves, but tied them, by strict Laws, from the Prosecution of such Studies ^p as they themselves used; rejected

^m Plin. lib. 29. 1.

ⁿ De Offic. 1. 32.

^o Ibid. 42.

^p 'Ου χρὴ πρὸς ἀνδρῶν δούλον [όν] ἐλευθέρου γνῶμας διῶκειν.
Eurip. Antiop.

Physick, ^q an Art altogether practised and administer'd by Slaves, as *sordid* and *illiberal*.

NOR can it be denied also, but that some *poor Grecians*, who, for Lucre, flock'd from *Greece* to *Rome*, joined themselves to those Slaves who practised Physick, these Men perhaps, were of a free, but certainly a very humble and abject State; for all that Nation were held in such Contempt at *Rome*, that the common People used to boast, and talk of the Name of *Greek* ^r as despicable and reproachful: But JULIUS CÆSAR made them all free, ^s by that Means to restore the City to its former Populousness, which was much exhausted by the Civil-Wars. And this was the Physicians first Promotion to Honour; here was laid the first Foundation of their Grandeur, who afterwards often gaining Favours from other Princes, and increasing in Wealth, and various Privileges, passed at length from a servile and ignoble State to an honest; and rose by Degrees from Darkness and Obscurity to Light and Splendor. But the Art itself, I think, tho' after this illustrated and indulged by many Privileges, was scarce ever reckoned liberal; so far from it, that I find the Lawyers

^q Servum hominem causas orare leges non sinunt. Ter. Pher.

^r Plutarc. in vita Ciceron. p. 863.

^s Sueton. J. Cæs. cap. 42.

always divided and distinguished it from the liberal Sciences. †

AND now, that all I said of the Physicians, who lived at *Rome*, is not only probable by Conjecture, but likewise true and certain, may easily be proved from the concurring Testimonies of all Authors; for tho', as I said before, the whole Matter lay in a deep Silence, in the first Ages after the founding the City; yet we have many Vouchers from Writers of after Ages, and those indeed not obscure, which all confirm my Opinion: certainly none will doubt what the Condition of Physicians was, who antiently lived in the Poverty both of the City and Citizens, when in the most flourishing Time of the Republick, even when they abounded with Affluence of Wealth, it shall plainly appear to have been servile and ignoble: But to prove it,

THE Story of L. DOMITIUS is very well known, of whom we read, ^u that when *Corfinium* was taken, lest he should fall into CÆSAR'S Power, he commanded his *Medicinal*

† Sed etsi Salarium alicui Decuriones decreverint; ut puta, si ob liberalem artem fuerit constitutum, vel ob medicinam. l. 4. de Decret. ab ordin. faciend. it. exceptis, qui liberalium Studiorum Antistites sunt, & qui medendi curâ funguntur. l. 1. Cod. de Decret. Decur.

‡ Sueton. Nero, c. 2. Plut. in Vit. Cæs. 724.

Slave to give him Poyson, but when he found the Victor's Clemency, *he immediately set the Physician free*, for his Prudence, in tempering the Poyson so as not to annoy him. PLUTARCH tells us, ^a one CLEANTHES the Physician and Freedman of CATO, bound up his Master's Hand, and when he was dying, put in his Entrails, and sewed up the Wound. SUETONIUS says, that AUGUSTUS, in a certain great Scarcity of Provisions, drove Part of the Slaves out of the City, except Physicians and Tutors : ^b We have an Epistle from that Prince to his Grand-daughter AGRIPPINA, in these Words, ^c *Mitto præterea cum eo ex Servis meis medicum, quem scripsi GERMANICO, si vellet, retineret* :—*I send moreover with him, a Physician, one of my Slaves, whom, I wrote to GERMANICUS, to keep if he pleased.* We learn from DION, ^d that even ANTONIUS MUSA, the most famous of all Physicians, who was publicly honoured with a Gold Ring and Brazen Statue, was, nevertheless, the Slave, and afterwards the Freedman of AUGUSTUS, tho' SPON thinks he was a Gentleman, and free : ^e this MUSA was first said to disapprove of hot Baths, and

^a In Vita Cat.

^b In Aug. c. 42.

^c Id. Calig. c. 8.

^d Spon. Recherches curi d' Antiquité Dissert. 27.

^e ἢ γὰρ ἀπελεύθερος. Dio. ex Edit. H. Steph. p. 73.

to bathe his Patients in Water quite cold : and HORACE says he learned this Method of preserving Health from him. ^f

WE often meet, among the Lawyers, Questions proposed concerning Physicians, as well Slaves as Freedmen ; *Medicus libertus quod putaret, si liberti sui Medicinam non facerent, multo plures imperantes sibi habiturum* : — A Physician, a Freedman, thinking if their Freedmen did not practise Physick, he would have the more Masters himself, desired them to follow him and do no Work. Is that just or no ? ^g whence we may readily draw Conclusions of the abject State of Physicians, from the Word *Masters*, since, among the Antients, to *command* or *master* a Physician seems to imply the same as to employ or call one : But it's needless to collect any more Testimonies of Authors, to clog a thing, in itself plain enough, with Authorities of which we have Plenty ; besides, there are extant, many antient Marble Inscriptions, which concern the present Question, some of which I have brought from GRUTERUS,

^f Epist. l. i. 15.

Nam mihi Baias
Musa supervacuas Antonius & tamen illis
Me facit invisum, gelida quum perluor unda
Per medium frigus.

^g Lib. 26. Princip. de oper. libert.

Septimius Juperphans —

and

and set here more fully to illustrate my Arguments.

CHRESTE. CONSERVAE
ET. CONIVGI.
CELADVS. ANTON.
DRVSI. MEDICUS
CHIRURG.
&c. 581.

Θ. Κ.
Τ. ΑΙΛΙΟC
ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗC
CΕΒΑCΤΟΥ
ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟC
ΙΑΤΡΟC
ΛΟΥΔ. ΜΑΤ.
ΧΕΙΡ.

335.

EROS
AVGVSTAE
MEDICVS 581.
SPOSIANVS.

M. RVFRIVS. M. L.
FAVSTVS MEDICVS
IIII VIR. AVG.
464.

EVTYCHVS. AVG. LIB. NERONIANVS. MEDICVS. LVDI
MATVTINI. 335.

THUS the constant Opinion of the Servile State of Physicians among the *Romans*, always prevailed, confirmed by the Testimonies of the most ancient Monuments and Authors: Is. CASAUBON, I think, was the first who strove to call it in Question, in his Remarks on SÜETONIUS.

AND then SPON; he indeed is excellently skilled in Antiquity, but as he is a Physician, he is too partial to his own Profession, laughs at this Opinion, as *some vain Device of*
ROBOR-

16 *The State of Physicians,*

ROBORTELLUS, and very ridiculously ^h strives to transfer all the Indignity of Slavery from the *Physicians* to the *Surgeons* and *Oculists*. And lastly, our Friend MEAD follows SPON entirely, but reports every thing of his Art with more Boasting and Magnificence. For CASAUBON, tho' he don't allow that all the Physicians were Slaves, yet he says they were for the most Part so, and that they were none of them *Romans*, but all *Grecians*. SPON chiefly endeavours to raise the Art of Physick from Slaves to Freedmen, and so place it a Degree higher: But MEAD will by no means allow any thing either base or servile to be ascribed to Physicians; ⁱ but at once asserts their Liberty and Freedom, and only gives up the Surgeons, as a vile Pack, and Men of servile Condition, to be worried by us: But it will be worth while to consider the Arguments these Men use in Support of this.

CASAUBON, having observed that a certain *Physician*, ^k who, as SÜETONIUS tells us, was in Company with J. CÆSAR when he was taken by Pirates, was by PLUTARCH called ^l *the Friend of CÆSAR*, and that other Men, besides, who professed that Art,

^h Spon. Recherches Curieuses d'Antiq. Dissert. 27. It Miscellanea Erudit. Antiq. Sect. 4. p. 141.

ⁱ Mead. Oratio Harveian. p. 8.

^k Animadvers. in Sueton. p. 8.

^l In vita J. Cæs.

were Friends, and familiar with the greatest Men sometimes, says, It is ridiculous and incredible, that Men who were held in such Honour, should be suspected to have been *Slaves* : On this Argument he relies very much, as does SPON likewise after him. But I wonder these very learned Men did not consider, that great Men used to divide the *Society of their Friends* into many distinct Orders and Degrees, ^m as LAMPRIIDIUS, speaking of ALEXANDER SEVERUS, writes, *Tantæ eum Moderationis fuisse, ut Amicosⁿ non solum primi & secundi Loci, sed etiam inferioris, ægrotantes viseret* : — He was a Man of such Moderation, that he would visit his sick Friends, not only of the first and second Degree, but even those of a lower Rank. Nor will we wonder that not only *Freedmen*, but the very *Slaves* are sometimes reckoned among the Friends of a lower Class, when we recollect how kindly and familiarly Men of that State, whose Faith and Honesty have been well proved, were wont to be treated even by Princes.

^m Consuetudo ista vetus Regibus, Regesque simulantibus populum amicorum describere : apud nos primi omnium C. Gracchus, & mox Livius Drusus instituerunt segregare turbam suam, &c. Senec. de Ben. l. 6. 33. It. de Clemen. 1. 10. It. Sueton. Tiber. c. 46.

ⁿ c. 20.

BRUTUS, writing to CICERO, says, °
 GLYCONEM Medicum PANSÆ diligentissime
 tibi commendo; audimus eum venisse in sus-
 picionem de morte PANSÆ custodiri ut
 Paricidam; nihil minus credendum, est mo-
 destus homo & frugi — rogo te & quidem
 valde rogo, &c. — I most heartily commend
 to you GLYCON the Physician of PANSÆ; we
 hear that he is suspected of the Death of
 PANSÆ, and is kept in Custody as a Paricide;
 Nothing less deserves Belief; he is a mild
 and moderate Man — I beg of you, and
 indeed very much entreat you, &c. Now
 who will scruple to call that Physician, who
 was so dear and familiar with BRUTUS, the
 Friend of BRUTUS, tho' he was the Slave, or
 at least, Freedman of the Consul PANSÆ?
 But that there never was any thing more
 dear, or precious, even to CICERO, than his
 Slave TYRO, his own Epistles to him suffi-
 ciently declare, for whose Manumission, at
 length, Q. CICERO, his Brother, thanking
 him, says, ^p Gratissimum mihi fecisti, cum eum
 indignum illa fortunâ, non Amicum, quàm
 Servum esse maluisti: — You have done me
 very great Pleasure, since that you had rather
 have him our Friend than Servant, who was
 unworthy that Fortune; as if a Manumission

° Epist. ad Cic. 6.

^p Cic. Ep. fam. ad Tiron. 6.

were nothing else, than a Transition from Slavery to the Friendship of a Master: But that this happened chiefly to Physicians and Preceptors, *ut in Amicos facile transirent* : ---

That they may easily become Friends, SENECA testifies; ^a who, by the Arts which they profess, have the best Opportunities of procuring Merit with their Masters, and obliging Men by their good Offices. But after all, what can better signify a Master's Love to his Slave, than an Inscription publicly dedicated to him? And TURREIUS gives an ancient one of this Kind, found at ^r *Aquileia*, which appears to have been erected by a very great Magistrate of *Colonia*, to his *Slave who was a Physician*.

PHAEBIANO
SER.
MEDICO
FABIANVS
COS.

SAYS a celebrated Author, *Hanc Inscriptionem ægris oculis vidisset SPONIUS, qui à Servorum abjectâ conditione Medicos vindicare conatus est* : — SPON saw this Inscription with evil Eyes, who endeavoured to clear the Physicians from the abject State of Slavery.

^a De Ben. l. 6. 26.

^r Philip. a Turre Monumen. Vet. Antij. p. 361.

Lastly, in that notable Story of King PYRRHUS, the Man who promises the Consul FABRICIUS, if he would agree to his Price, to poison the King, is called by PLUTARCH the *Physician*,^s by GELLIUS the *Friend*,^t and by CLAUDIAN the *Servant* of the King :^u All which, I suppose, by what is abovesaid, will easily appear to agree in themselves, and confirm my Opinion.

As to SPON, he indeed seems to exult and extol himself, because one or two Physicians have been stiled the *Friends of CICERO or CÆSAR* ; the Vanity and Lightness of all which we have no longer need to prove. But tho' he has been a very diligent Searcher into all Antiquity, yet indeed he has not failed to do that, in his Scrutiny of the Monuments of the Antients, which is frequent to those who strictly adhere to some certain and fixed Opinions, to wit, to ravage all Places, and wrest to their own Side whatever they think will any way favour their prejudiced Opinions, and easily neglect or conceal every thing else. But that we may better comprehend and consider the Force of his Arguments, I have taken Care to bring hither also, the greatest Part of some Old Inscriptions, by which,

^s In vita Pyrrhi. p. 396.

^t Noct. Att. 3. 8.

^u De Bello Gild. 271.

chiefly, he endeavours to gain his own Cause,
and refute that against him.

I.

M. LATINIVS
MEDICVS
OCVLARIVS

II.

M. ALLIVS. PAMPHILVS
MEDICVS
&c.

III.

C. CALPVRNIVS. ASCLEPIADES
PRVSA. AD. OLYMPVM. MEDICVS
PARENTIBVS. ET. SIBI. ET. FRATRIB.
CIVITATES. VII. A. DIVO. TRAIANO
IMPETRAVIT. &c.

IV.

ILLVSTRIVS. TI. CAESARIS.
AVG. SER. CELADIANVS
MEDICVS. OCVLARIVS.

V.

M. FONTEIVS
NICANDER
MEDICVS.

VI.

VI.

L. ANNIVS. CASSIVS. MITHR
ADORVS. MEDICVS. &c.

VII.

L. ARRVTIO
SEMPRONIANO
ASCLEPIADI
IMP. DOMITIANI
MEDICO, &c.

VIII.

TI. CLAVDIVS. IVLIANVS
MEDICVS. CLINICVS. COH. IIII.
PR. FECIT. VIVOS. SIBI. ET.
TVLLIE. EPIGONE. CONIVGI.
LIBERTIS. LIBERTATIBVSQ;
CLAVDIIS. &c.

IX.

P. CHARM.
SOSTHE.
MEDIC.
IIII, VIR. AVG.

SPON says, ^z *Hisce pauculis Inscriptionibus destrui potest ridiculum ROBORTELLI commentum; qui asseruit, Romæ tantum servos Medicinam exercuisse. Etiam si etenim in Inscriptione, illustrius TIB. CÆSARIS servus fuerit Medicus; observandum est, addi Occularius; sicq; potius Chirurgum quàm Medicum fuisse. At in aliis lapidibus Medici soli ingenui, aut liberti, &c. quorum ultimus verò, præterquam ingenuus fuit, sextumviratûs dignitate ornatus observatur: —* By these few Inscriptions may be refuted that ridiculous Lye of ROBORTELLUS, who asserted, That Slaves only practised Physick at Rome; for tho' it appear by the Inscription, that illustrious TIB. CÆSAR'S Slave was a Physician, yet it must be observed, that Oculist is added, so that he was rather a Surgeon than Physician. But, on the other Stones, mere Physicians were Gentlemen, or Freed-men, &c. the last of which, we may observe, besides his being a Gentleman, was honoured with the Dignity of Sextumvirate.

OF the first Inscription; The learned MALVASIA says, ^a That SPON withdrew the Letters M. L. which ought to have followed the Name LATINIUS, which declared him to have been a Freed-man. As to the second; My

^z Miscell. Erud. Antiq. p. 144.

^a Marmora Felsin. Sect. 5. c. 1.

Friend JUSTUS FONTANINUS, a Bishop of the *Romish* Church, a Man most excellent for all Kind of Learning, and justly celebrated for his Writings, in his Book of the Antiquities of *Horta* (which Book, with many more Tokens of his Friendship and Benevolence, he sent me from *Rome*) states it in another manner, *viz.* MALLIUS PAM. &c. without any Points to distinguish the proper Name, and argues from thence, that that *Pamphilus* was a *Slave*, and not as yet made free, because he wanted a Fore-name, which every other Citizen had; ^b and then lightly reproves *Spon* for ridiculing, without Reason, the Opinion of ROBORTELLUS.

How childish and silly are all those Things which *Spon* relates of ASCLEPIADES next mentioned? ^c who, translating the Inscription into *French*, asserts, that he obtained *the Dominion and Principality of seven Cities* from the *European* TRAJAN. Nor does MEAD after him, omit the Remembrance of this great Man, or rather Prince, *and the Donation of so many Cities*, to the Glory of his Profession. But what, in the Name of Wonder, does all this ^d Magnificence mean? for REINESIUS, that indeed great Author and famous Physician, from whom *Spon* translated this very Inscrip-

^b Cap. 9. p. 166.

^c Differ. 27. p. 43 L.

^d Orat. Harv. p. 9.

tion, says, ^e that this ASCLEPIADES was nothing else than a *Slave*, emancipated from the Calpurnian Family, who, by the Favour of TRAJAN, obtained for himself and Family, the *Privilege and Freedom of Citizens*, not only at Rome, but in six other Cities in Greece and Asia: And certainly nothing more is understood by the Inscription; for it is not only incredible, that the best and most prudent Prince should confer the *Dominion of seven Cities on a diminutive Greek Physician*, but impossible it should be pass'd in Silence by all Writers.

BUT what sensible Man could even believe, as he does, that the rest of Physicians mentioned on the other Stones, were ever free, or descended from Families who had Fore-names? Why should we not rather think they were all Slaves, who, when afterwards set free, assumed, according to Custom, the *Names and Surnames of their Masters?*

Verterat hunc Dominus monumento turbinis,
exit
Marcus, Dama, &c. Perf. Sat. 5. 78.

His Master changed him in a Moment, he goes forth
 MARCUS, DAMA, &c.

^e Syntag. Inscrip. Antiq. Class. 11. 4.

THIS truly is very probable of CLAUDIUS JULIANUS, not so much on Account of his *Greek Wife* EPIGONE, as his erecting a common Sepulchre for the *Freed-men* and *Women* of the *Claudian* Family, from which he was made free. But if we allow they were free, which is very unlikely, yet they could not be *Romans*, but some of those *Grecians*, who having been made Citizens by the Emperors, and becoming Clients to great Men, after a while, usurped *Roman* Names, for the most Part retaining, and adding thereto their old *Greek* ones: Such, without Dispute, were CASSIUS, FONTEIUS, ARUNTIUS, if we should not rather think them Slaves, as sufficiently appears by the Inscriptions themselves.

LASTLY, as to what concerns the augustal Sextumvirate, which CHARMES the Physician is said to have possessed in the Inscription, this learned Gentleman is very much mistaken, who thought it was only conferred on *Noble-men and free*,^f since there are many other Inscriptions, which shew, that it was chiefly, or rather always given to *Freed-men*, one of which indeed mentions the Sum of Money, which a *Physician Slave* gave for his Liberty,

^f Dissert. 27. p. 435.

and that which he gave the Republick, when a Freed-man, for the *Sevirate*.³

P. DECIMVS. P. L. EROS

MERVLA. MEDICVS

CLINICVS. CHIRVRGVS

OCVLARIVS. VI. VIR

HIC. PRO. LIBERTATE. DEDIT. H. S. I.,,

HIC. PRO. SEVIRATV. IN. REMP.

DEDIT. H. S. ∞. ∞.

Hier. Mercurial. Var. Lect. l. 3.

So that I think, while SPON endeavours to prove the State of the antient Physicians to have been free and ingenuous, he plainly destroys what with great Pain he labours for, since, at last, he is obliged to allow the greatest Part of them to have descended from

³ What Sort of Office this augustal Sevirate was, whether a Priesthood or some Magistracy in the Boroughs, the Learned can't tell: We read in *Tacitus* (*Ann.* 1. 54. 1.) and *Suetonius* (*Claud.* c. 6.) That, after the Death of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* instituted a certain Priesthood, in Honour of the *Julian* Family, into which were chosen by Lot, one and twenty of the chief Citizens, under the Name of *augustal Companions*, who presided at the Rites and Games ordained in Honour of the defunct *Cæsars*; to whom afterwards were added besides, *Tiberius*, *Druſus*, *Claudius*, *Germanicus*. In Imitation of this Company, it seems, the Villages and Boroughs created an *augustal Sevirate*, and, I suppose, to manage the same *Matters*, which indeed appears, by old marble Inscriptions, to have been a middle State between the Senators and Commons. We find, by antient Inscriptions, that the honour itself was, for the most Part, bought with Money, but sometimes it was given *gratis* by the Senators to those who deserved it, but yet it was not perpetual, but quinquennial, and sometimes renewed.

Freed-men: And where is the great Difference, whether they were *Slaves* or *Freed-men* that practised Physick, when they must have learn'd it, as well as practised it in Bondage? We can prove from CICERO, that *diligent and frugal Servants*, and especially Physicians (as we may see by what is above said) did serve no longer than five Years; after which Term they were set free: ^h And hence arose that Number of *Physicians Freed-men*, whose Names we so often meet with, who, tho' they may be called free, yet perhaps because they did not all enjoy a just Freedom, were never thought *ingenuous*; but, to the contrary, we find, that Authors oppos'd the *ingenuous* and the *Freed-men*, as Men of a contrary Condition. SENECA says, ⁱ *Hominibus prodesse Natura jubet, Servi, Liberive sint; Ingenui an Libertini*: — Nature bids us do Good unto Men, whether they are *Slaves* or *Free-men*; *Ingenuous* or *Freed-men*. And SÜETONIUS tells us, ^k *AUGUSTUM neminem unquam Libertinorum cœnæ adhibuisse, excepto MENA (S. POMPEII Liberto) sed asserto prius in Ingenuitatem*: — AUGUSTUS never admitted a *Freed-man* to sup with him, except MENA, the *Freed-man* of S. POMPEIUS) but not before he confirmed him in his Freedom.

^h Orat. Philip. 8. 11.

ⁱ De Vita Beat. c. 24.

^k Aug. 6. 74.

BUT let us proceed to my Friend MEAD, who, in treating this ¹ Question, labours, with all his Might, to throw the Infamy of Slavery upon the *Surgeons*, which is cast upon the *Physicians*, insisting, that *these* lived at Rome always splendid and honourable, and that *those* only were servile, base and ignoble; but as both Parties were called *Physicians* by the Ancients, thence he insinuates the Rise of all this Mistake, because whomsoever learned Men observed to have a common Appellation, they believed to have the same State of Life. But he has been very unfortunate in proving this; for, of all the Physicians whom he quotes, he produces only two, of whose Condition we have any certain or undoubted Account, *viz.* ARCAGATHUS, and ANTONIUS MUSA, the first of whom was free, and made a Citizen; but yet he was a *Surgeon*, or, as PLINY calls him ^m a *vulnerary Physician*; but the latter, truly a great *Physician*, and very much honoured, was notwithstanding, as I said before, the *Slave* and *Freed man* of AUGUSTUS. We shall easily judge, by what was said, what must be resolved of the rest, whose *Roman* Names indeed he brings here, CASSII, CALPETANI, ARUNTII, &c. all whom, if with SPON, he believes to have been Citizens and free-

¹ Orat. Harv. p. 8.

^m Hist. Nat. l. 29. 1.

born, yet he must not think to persuade others, that ever the *noble Romans* studied an Art, which every one, even of the *inferior Sort*, deemed *beneath his Dignity*, and which, *none of the Romans*, till very lately, nor, as LE CLERC himself acknowledges, ever at all concerned themselves in, until the CÆSARS Time.

BUT this celebrated Gentleman observes, that, on a certain Coin of the *Rubrian* Family :stamped *a Snake, the Symbol of Health*, which, he thinks, by all Means refers to the then flourishing Honour of Physick in that Family: ⁿ And he wonders that PATIN and VAILLANT, who indeed were both Physicians, should, in expounding the Coins of the *Roman* Families, pass by a Thing, *which redounded so much to the Honour of their Art*. But in other, even consular Coins, which he himself also exhibits, ^o one, *to wit*, of the *Junian*, another of the *Acilian* Family, the Image of the *Goddess of Health* is plainly impress'd: Does it therefore follow, that the Heads of these Families were Physicians? No truly, no-

ⁿ Orat. p. 11.

^o He asserts (p. 49.) among other *Roman* Families, the *Rubrian* to have flourished for the Praise of Physick, and brings *Pliny* to testify it, tho' he don't speak a Word of the *Rubrian*, nor any other of those Families; but only reckons among the most famous Physicians, the *Cassii*, *Carpetani*, *Aruntii*, *Albutii*, *Rubrii* ——— who doubtless were rather Slaves than Heads of Families, as I said before.

thing less credible. But 'tis thought the *Junian* Money was coined in Memory of a Temple built to the *Goddeſs of Health*, which *JUNIUS BUBULCUS* the Dictator dedicated *A. U.* 451. on account of a Vow he made when Conſul. ^p And the *Acilian* denotes ſome Office or Magiſtracy happily miniſtered, which was inſtituted to defend the Health of the People againſt a Plague, or ſome contagious Diſtemper, as learned Men think by the Inſcription,

MV. ACILIVS. III VIR. VALETIV.

Why then ſhould we not think with *PATIN*, that the *Rubrian* Coin, (in which is denoted and expreſſed the Introduction of *Æſculapius* into the City) referred to ſome ſingular Service done the Republick on that Occaſion, or to the Expences of that Family in building and beautifying his Temple? But let us paſs over thoſe private Citizens; we ſee very often on the Coin of the Emperors the ſame Image of Health, to ſignify, without Doubt, Health publickly given by the Prince or Emperor, or ſingularly to ſome ſpecial Citizens; ^q or

^p T. Liv. l. 10. 1.

^q *Dio* tells us, That when a Conſpiracy againſt *Auguſtus* was detected, of which *Cn. Cornelius*, the Grandſon of *Pompey the Great* by his Daughter, was Head, the Conſpirators, by the Advice and Interceſſion of *Livia Auguſta*, not only obtain'd Pardon from the Emperor, but Honours and Preferment [*Cæſ. Aug.* l. 55. p. 85.] To perpetrate the Memory of this, 'tis very

or Vows and Sacrifices offer'd by the People, or some City, for the Preservation and Health of the Emperor. And if we should think by those Coins, that the Emperors themselves practis'd Physick, it would not be more absurd than to believe the noble *Junii, Acilii, Rubrii*, in the very Time of the Consuls, profess'd an Art, which would certainly have brought them Dishonour and Infamy, rather than Praise or Glory worthy to be celebrated on Coins.

BUT after all, let this worthy Gentleman take heed, while he endeavours to screen the Physicians from Reproach, lest he himself abuse others; I insist truly, that the Surgeons were honest Men, and useful to the Commonwealth; nor can I find, that they were ever distinguish'd by the Ancients, from other Physicians, either in Name or Condition; unless we would believe, that, as the Surgery Part of Medicine is the older, so perhaps it was held in greater Esteem. Indeed *Æsculapius* himself was deified for no other Reason, but *the Invention of the Lancet* (an Instrument in Surgery) *and because he first*

very likely, that Money was coined, on the contrary Side of which, the Face of *Livia* was impress'd, with this Inscription; SAL. AV G. Vid. Agostin. Dial. 2. Tab. 45. And I believe also, that the Statue which is seen at Rome to this Day, and represents the Face of *Livia Augusta*, in the Image of the Goddess of Health, was made at the same Time, and for the same Reason. Vide Raccolt. di Statue di Roma. —

taught

taught to bind up Wounds; ^a and we see also that his Sons, PODALIRIUS and MACHAON, so much celebrated by HOMER, were not applied to for curing Plagues or Diseases, but only for healing Wounds. *Ex quo apparet,* says CELSUS, ^b *has partes Medicinæ solas ab his esse tentatas, easque esse vetustissimas:* —By which it is plain that only these Parts of Medicine were practised by them, and that they were the oldest. And the Surgeons Art was so properly judged of by the Antients, that, as SEXTUS EMPIRICUS tells us, it had its Name among the Greeks, as it were from drawing forth Darts: ^c *Ἰατρικὴ εἰρηται τὸ παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἰῶν ἐξαίρεσεως.* —Surgery was antiently named from drawing forth Darts. Which Definition of its Name he appears to have taken from HOMER.

*Ἰατρὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἀντάξειτο ἄλλων
Ἰὸς τ' ἐκτάμνει, &c. ——— Iliad. λ. 514.*

A Physician, but a Man excelling many others in cutting out the Darts, &c.

HIER. MERCURIALIS, who was himself indeed a very learned Physician, owns, that

^a Cic. de Nat. Deor, l. 3.

^b Præf. lib. de re Med.

^c Adv. Mathem, lib. 1. c. 2.

all the antient Physicians were Surgeons, and prepared their own Drugs, till GALEN's Time, as he says, ^d *Compertum habent, qui in Auctoribus antiquioribus, atque Hippocrate præcipuè sunt versati* : — They find who are well versed in the more antient Authors, but more especially in HIPPOCRATES.

It is very certain, that among the antient Romans, the Name of Physician was common to both, and that one Man always practised both Parts of Physick. That same ARCAGATHUS, who is said to have first of all come from Greece to Rome, to practise Physick, in the Year of the City 535, was, as I said before, a ^c Surgeon, and hired a publick Shop to get Employment. PLAUTUS also, who lived at the same Time, or a little after it, as often as he speaks of Physicians, confirms them to have been nothing else but Surgeons.

*Lumbi sedendo, oculi spectando dolent,
Manendo Medicum, dum se ex opere recipiat;
Odiosus tamen vix ab ægrotis venit;
Ait se obligasse crus fractum Æsculapio,
Apollini autem brachium, &c. —*

^d Var. lect. l. 1. c 13.

^c Plin. Hist. Nat. l. 29. 1.

*Sitting my Haunch, looking my Eyes are sore,
Waiting the Doctor, till he comes from
Work,*

*But the Wretch, scarce come from his
Patients, says,*

*He set a broken Leg for ÆSCULAPIUS,
And an Arm for APOLLO, &c.*

Menæc. 5. 3.

WE read that CAIUS MARIUS, having a Tumour in his Legs, caused it to be laid open by his ^f Physician, and that he bore the Incision without any Signs of Pain. CICERO speaking of a veteran and experienced Soldier, says, ^g He grew stouter for his Wounds, and that he required nothing else but a *Physician to bind them up*. We see the *Physician of CATO*, whom we mentioned before, performing the proper Office of a *Surgeon*. Lastly, *at all the Gladiators Plays*, as appears by many Inscriptions, there were several Physicians, who attended each of them, as well to *take Care of their Healths, as cure their Wounds*.

BUT afterwards, in the Time of the Emperors, when both the Number of Citizens

^f Plut. in C. Mar.

^g Tusc. Quæst. l. 2. 38.

and Physicians was immensely increased, and in a City abounding with all Sorts of Riches, even *any one Part of Physick* was sufficient to procure its Professors a considerable Revenue and Gain; then first the Art of Physick was divided and cut, as it were, into various Parts, and each Part of it began to be treated and administred separately; till every little Part of the Body, and every certain Pain had *Physicians proper and peculiar to itself only*.^h And hence at last arose the Names, *Prescribers of Diet, Chirurgeons, Oculists, Auricularists, &c.* all which, as appears by the Inscription before-mentioned, do notwithstanding, sometimes happen to one and the same Person.

MENAGEⁱ says, *Postremis Temporibus partem illam Medicinæ, quæ manu medetur, ab aliis homines sejunxerunt: quando factum hoc dissidium, dixerit alius, non ego; certe post Antoninos: — In After-times Men divided that Part of Medicine, which consists in Manual Operation, from the rest; but when this Difference was made, let others say, I shall not; certainly after the ANTO-*

^h Medicos fortasse quis accipiet, etiam eos, qui alicujus partis corporis, vel certi doloris sanitatem pollicentur: ut puta, si Auricularius, si Fistulæ, vel Dentium, &c. l. 1. § 3. Dig. de var. & extraor. cognition.

ⁱ Amænitat. Jur. Civ. c. 35. p. 227.

NINI. And I know CELSUS, as cited by LE CLERIC, ^k proves this Division to have been many Years before ; but our learned Gentleman doubts whether CELSUS speaks of it, as a Thing already done, and in Use, or as a Thing profitable, and to be wish'd for ; since it is plain, that in the Age of CELSUS himself, this old Custom was still kept up, and all Parts of Physick were practis'd by one and the same Man, at the same Time.

WHATEVER we may resolve of this Matter, this one Thing is very true, that *Physicians* and *Surgeons* were always in the same State and Dignity among the old *Romans*. And those Gentlemen who revile the constant Opinion of almost all the learned Men, as a *ridiculous Forgery in Reproach of their Art*, will at length see how rashly they themselves, without any Authority from antique Monuments or Authors, throw their Rebukes upon others, who do not deserve them.

BUT Dr. MEAD, lest he should appear too perverse and obstinate, if he owned nothing at all of the ignoble State of the antient Physicians, seems at last to allow something, but wrapt in such Obscurity of Terms, and as it were forced from him, that far from

^k Hist. de la Medicin. l. 1. pt. 2. c. 9.

having a distinct and clear Sense of it, we can scarce draw any Sense at all from it, wherefore I have here inserted his own Words, that somebody more cunning may undertake to clear them.

HE says, ¹ *Nihil igitur servile, aut tenue quidem, Artem nostram adhuc dedecorat. Sed ut planè & sine fuco totam rem dicam, simul cum ingenuis multis, & doctis viris, non pauci scientiæ & fortunæ bonis inferiores, illis temporibus Romam veniebant; qui etsi non Medicamentis, sed manu curarent, Medici tamen appellabantur. Hi in divitum & Magnatum clientelam se conferebant, & Servi agebant, donec Civitatem consequerentur: inde Liberti, nomen alicujus Familiæ Romanæ sibi adsciscere solebant: neque raro, si ingenium studio literarum excoluissent, morbis etiam internis medebantur, & in Medicorum Clinicorum censum veniebant. Tali conditione fuit Antonius Musa, &c. — Nothing therefore servile or mean has as yet defiled our Art. But to state the whole Matter plainly, and without any Gloss; at that Time came to Rome, with many ingenious and learned Men, not a few of inferior Knowledge and Fortune, who, though they did not use Physick, but Manual Operation, were nevertheless called Physicians. Those*

¹ Orat. p. 9.

People became the Clients of rich Men and Nobles, and were Slaves, until they gained the Freedom of the City; then, as Freedmen, they assumed the Name of some Roman Family; and often, if they improved themselves by Study of Literature, cured inward Disorders also, and were rank'd amongst the Diet Doctors. Such was the Condition of ANTONIUS MUSA, &c.

THUS indeed, I think, he plainly contradicts himself, as well in Words as Opinions: But to omit every Thing else, I don't understand how those People, who came from *Greece of their own Accord*, and became the Clients of rich Men, could afterwards be *Slaves at Rome*, and how the same People could, at the same Time, be *Great Men's Clients*, and *Slaves*. But certainly all Things of this Kind (whether we call them Errors, or Inaccuracies only, and much greater, must readily be pardoned in so great a Man, who, busied in weightier Matters, can by no means find Leisure to inform himself in Trifles of this Nature, and to whose assiduous Studies whatever Stop is put, so much the Publick Good must suffer.

BUT L E C L E R C, whom I named before, handles this whole Case at large, in that Book, ^m where he learnedly and diligently

^m Lib. 1. p. 3. c. 2.

compiled his *History of the Art of Physick*; and tho' a Physician, does not scruple to set down whatever may be said of both Sides, referring the Judgment of it to others. And he only seems to err in following the Authority of SPON, and believing the Physicians ARUNTIUS, CALPETANUS, RUBRIUS, &c. who, as he says, were the first *Romans* that practised Physick, then descended to it from the *Greatest Families of the City*, as if it were likely, that *Noblemen* should immediately profess an Art which was generally thought a Discredit to a Roman Citizen; and that in the Age of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, when for many Years after, Physicians, as I said before, were reckoned by SENECA, amongst the Dregs of the People.

BUT enough of this. I would not have any one think now, that I have contested any of these Things to scandalize, or dishonour the Art of Physick, which indeed is a very honourable and useful Art; This was far from my Intention; nor has any one more Friends and Acquaintance of the Faculty than myself, the greatest Part of whom I have always known to be Men of Probity, and excellent in almost all Kind of Literature. Nor truly do I think the Question really concerns the Honour and Glory of the Art; since to have met small Encouragement antiently at *Rome*, and to have been despised and

and neglected, is no way peculiar to Medicine, but common to many other Arts : Nor are *Physicians*ⁿ more to be rejected, because the old *Romans* held them in no Repute, than *Poets*, whose Familiarity and Acquaintance, M. CATO is said to have objected to a certain Senator as something reproachful. ° This whole Dispute is entirely grounded on an historical Disquisition, which, tho' it should be lightly thought of by most, will not however prove unpleasant to some, nor, I hope, seem altogether unworthy the Amusement of a Man of Letters, who may perhaps hereafter publish Things of greater Moment.

ⁿ Sero a nostris Poetæ vel cogniti, vel recepti. — Philosophia jacuit usque ad hanc ætatem, nec ullum habuit lumen Latinarum literarum. Cic. Tusc. quæst. 1.

° Ibid. —————

F I N I S.



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